l: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

[Medieval Georgia]

charge of all the King's Falconers and dogs and was over all the keepers of the royal woods.

The *Ezos-Modzghvari*, or Master of the Courtyard who had under his inspection all the workshops of the palace.

The *Mzareult-Ukbutsesi*, or Chief of the Cooks, who was over all the table-servants, the kitcheners, the bakers, water-carriers, musicians and dancers. He was later called by the Persian title of *Chunchirakhi*.

The *Momgheralt-Ukbutsesi*, or Chief of the Singers, and the *Juaris-Mtvirtveli* or Cross-Bearer who was the King's messenger to the Catholicos and the Bishops; he also made public pronouncement of all penalties inflicted by royal command.

The royal revenues were derived from various sources. First, there were the feudal dues from the estates of the royal house which were paid in large part in kind, but also partly in money.

Secondly, the Kings of Georgia and the earlier rulers of Iberia coined money for circulation in the realm. Gold and silver was never found in any but negligible quantities within the country, and therefore the rarer metals used for coining and for the manufacture of objects of luxury came at all times from abroad. Large quantities of foreign coins were always in circulation in the country. Money was, however, minted in Georgia with intervals from the second century A.D. down even to the times of the paltry sovereignties of Mingrelia and Imereti, who according to Chardin, had their own mints.[1]

Again, the Kings of Georgia and the later rulers of the divided Kingdom imposed customs dues on goods entering the country and on goods in transit. In Chardin's time there were customs levied at Iskâur (Dioscurias-Sukhum), in Abkhazeti and Fasso (Poti) in Mingrelia, and the insolence which he met from the Pasha of Akhaltzikhé's customs officers at Gonia was in the true tradition of the *douane*. There were also provincial and municipal customs where levies were made not only by the King, but by other authorities such as the Catholicos of Mtzkheta or the chieftains of Osseti. Boat traffic on the Mtkvari and ferries over this and other rivers were subject to levy, and also caravans entering and leaving Tiflis and Gori.

Further, the Kings levied a miscellaneous collection of taxes of all kinds and descriptions. The *Dastulamali* gives a list of taxes paid to the later Kings of Kartli, together with the shares of these taxes to which certain court officials were

[1] Chardin (1686 ed.), pp. 91 and 106.

l: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

p 321

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WEALTH AND STATE OF THE MEDIÆVAL KINGDOM

HERE is not the place to consider the vast structure—at once political, social and economic—which was represented by Dar-ul-Islam, the Mussulman world of the Middle Ages. Socially, Dar-ul-Islam was a unity; politically, it was a loose aggregration of spiritually sympathetic states; economically, it was the greatest form in which the human genius had as yet expressed itself in practice. In the four great sciences of mathematics, navigation, medicine and astronomy the Muslims led and taught the mediæval world. In wealth, the Caliphate, the official organism of Islam, equalled the Byzantine Empire; but the whole sum of the wealth of Dar-ul-Islam far exceeded that of Christendom or of the isolated Chinese world. Northward the Caliph's *dirhems* passed as welcome currency in the markets of the rude Baltic tribes[1]; southward Arab vessels were plying to Madagascar and the eastern coast of Africa. And from Timbuktu to Malaya and even to Canton, a good Muslim could still travel and trade with some facility, when the cities of Islam had been long shattered and desolated by Christendom and the Mongols in the dog-days of the fourteenth century.[2]

The Caucasian lands were a valuable appanage of the Arabs, for their varied local products were sought after in the wealthy cities of Iran and Iraq. But the prosperity of the Caucasian lands during this period must be attributed mainly to the development by the Arabs of the trans-Caspian traffic. The Mussulman provinces of the eastern Caucasus—Shirvan, Aran

[1] Cf. J. F. Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, I, xxiv-xxvi.
[2] Cf. Ibn-Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 1325–1354 (translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1929).

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

● 437 and Mughan—throve on the Caspian trade as, during preceding centuries, Colchis had flourished in the heyday of the driving of the Euxine traffic by the Greeks and Romans.

The Arabs never succeeded in establishing themselves as a power in the Black Sea, and the Black Sea commerce, declining as it was, remained the monopoly of Byzantium and the Italian cities until the fifteenth century. A certain amount of Muslim trade filtered through to the Pontine ports; we have already quoted Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the prosperity of the Kuropalatês of Tao in the tenth century as a result of Ardanuchi having become the entrepôt of trade passing by the Chorokhi route between the sea and the Persian and Armenian territories of the interior. And el-Masudi, in the same century, records the attendance of large numbers of Muslim merchants at the annual fairs of Trebizond.[1]

The Arabs failed to overthrow the commercial supremacy of the Greeks in the Black Sea, but, by opening up the Caspian-Volga route, they managed to tap the great markets of the Eurasian plains, which had until the seventh century been the monopoly of the masters of Constantinople.

The military policy of the Arabs in the Caucasus was definitely directed to securing the flank of their great south-to-north trade route. They held Tiflis and the line of the Mountains of Likhi, and on the north they held *Bab-el-Abwab*—Derbend, the "Gate of Gates".

000 At the mouth of the Volga and round the north-eastern shore of the Caspian were established the Khazars, a people of mixed stock who spoke a Turkish tongue, and who were in process of passing from the pastoral and predatory habits of a nomad people to the settled way of merchants and carriers. The Khazars had been a sore pest to the Byzantine and Sasanian rulers. It was only in the eighth century that the Arab, Mirvan-ibn-Muhammad, finally established the mastery of the Muslims over the western littoral of the Caspian and put an end to the Khazar raids into Caucasia and north-eastern Persia. Nevertheless, in the following century, the Khazar Khagan was still a potentate of great influence, and it is probable that he was of little less importance in the view of the Byzantine Court than the Emperor Charles the Great and his successors.[2]

[1] el-Masudi, I, 402: "On this sea is the town of Trebisond. There is a fair once a year at which merchants assemble from all nations—Moslems, Byzantines, Armenians and others from the country of Kashak." Of the Kashak (Circassians) (p. 347): "I have only to observe that their sea is not far from the country of Trebisond and that a constant navigation and trade are kept up between them and this city."

[2] See Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 402.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

WEALTH AND STATE

The Khazar capital was Itil—near the site of Astrakhan— straddling three channels of the Volga and controlling all the trade of the great river to the north. Between Itil and the Arab frontier-town of Derbend were a number of Khazar settlements, whose location indicates the exact course and the considerable extent of the trade between the south and the north.[1] The Khazars were, in fact, the commercial heirs of the Aorsi about whom Strabo wrote and they were moreover the progenitors of the Eastern European Jews.[2]

> "The King of the Khazars", says el-Masudi, "has no ships on this sea, for the Khazars are no sailors."[3]

The sea portage of the Caspian was thus in the hands of the Arabs and ibn-Haukal records that "it is much frequented by the ships of the merchants who traffick from one town to another; and it affords much fishing".[4] Later in the tenth century, with the decline in the power of the Caliphs, the Russians who had formerly been accustomed to come as traders into the sea, grew sufficiently daring to undertake piracies, and on one occasion took and sacked the wealthy city of Barda'a in Aran.

In the thriving days of the Caspian trade when the peoples of the north, Rus, Bolghars and Khazars rubbed shoulders in the streets of Itil with Arabs, Persians, Jews and Armenians, the towns of the eastern Caucasus grew rich and famous throughout the Muslim world. At Barda'a, the capital of Aran, roads converged from Kermanshah by Tabriz and Dabil (Dwin), chief town of Muslim Armenia; from Ray by Ardabil and the towns of the Mughan plain; from Tiflis and the north-western marches; and through Shamakha from Derbend, the gate to the Khazar country. Barda'a was the great centre of the north-western provinces of the Caliphate.

> "Barda'a", says ibn-Haukal, "is a populous and flourishing city with cultivated lands and much fruit. After Ray and Isfahan there is not in Iraq nor Khurasan, a city more large, more beautiful or pleasant than Barda'a . . . and for a day's journey the whole country is laid out in gardens and fruits. The fruits are excellent; their filberds are better than those of Samarkand, and their chestnuts superior to the chestnuts of Syria, and the figs of Barda'a are more delicious than those of any other place. There are also mulberries; and silk is sent from there to Khuzistan and to Iraq."[5]

---

[1] Cf. article *Khazars* in *E.I.*
[2] Ripley, *Races of Europe*.
[3] el-Masudi, p. 412.
[4] ibn-Haukal, p. 184.
[5] *Idem*, p. 157.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 R11 Georgia R11

361 Two centuries later el-Idrissi found that "*the town covers nearly nine miles*",[1] but in the fourteenth century after the Mongol devastations Abu'l Fida found it mostly in ruins,[2] and Barbaro another hundred years later speaks dolefully of "*a great citie heretofore destroied by Zamberlan*".[3]

Tiflis in the days of the Caliphate had no great consideration. ibn-Haukal says that it is "*a pleasant place and abounds in provisions*",[4] and el-Idrissi commends the low cost of living there.[5] Greater than Tiflis was Baylakan in the Mughan plain, which ibn-Haukal describes as a fine city watered by many streams and canals and plentifully supplied with milk and orchards. It was noted for its syrups.[6]

On the road from the north to Tiflis and Barda'a were Shaberan[7] and Shamakha, which latter place el-Mukadassi in the tenth century remarked as a fine stone-built town, surrounded by gardens and fertile corn-lands.

Derbend was with Barda'a the principal town of the north-western provinces of the Caliphate. ibn-Haukal recalls that "*the sovereigns of Persia have considered the possession of this city as a matter of great importance*"[8] and Idrissi describes it as "*the port for all the traffic of the Khazar Sea*".[9]

● 439 The trade over and around the Caspian had a wide expansion in the early centuries of Islam. A regular maritime traffic was carried on between the ports of northern Persia, Baku and Derbend and the Khazar towns, then up the Volga to the Slavonic and Turki principalities and tribes. At the same time ibn-Khurdabdih states that the Rus merchants traded down as far as Baghdad,[10] and el-Masudi says of the Bulgars (Targhiz): "*their caravans go as far as Khowarezm* (*Khiva*) *in Khurasan and from Khowarezm caravans go up to them*".[11] He adds that there was also an "active navigation" carried on between the Bulgars and other Turkish tribes and the Khazars.

"From this country come the furs of black and red foxes which are called the Bortasian furs. A black fur of this kind costs one hundred

---

[1] el-Idrissi, p. 321. [2] Abu'l Fida, p. 154. [3] Barbaro, p. 85.
[4] ibn-Haukal, p. 160. [5] el-Idrissi, p. 325.
[6] Cf. Guy Lestrange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 178.
[7] For Shaberan, see Bartold's article *Shirwan* in *E.I.* It was in the early Middle Ages the capital of Shirvan and the name of the province is derived from it. Bartold quotes the traveller Gmelin as only finding "miserable ruins" at Shaberan in 1770. As late as the previous century it was noticed by Evliya as still a town, "three journeys east of Baku" (*Travels*, II, 163). ibn-Khurdabdih (p. 200, ed. de Goeje) says that Shaberan was built by Khusraw Anushirwan, at the same time as he fortified Derbend against the Khazars.
[8] ibn-Haukal, pp. 158–9. [9] el-Idrissi, p. 322.
[10] ibn-Khurdabdih, p. 115. [11] el-Masudi, I, 414.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

dinars and more; but the red are cheaper. Dresses of these furs are worn by the kings of the Arabs and the Barbarians; and they form part of their vanity; for they are considered more valuable than the furs of sable, hermeline and the like. The kings wear tiaras, kaftans and robes of these furs. If kings have their kaftans and robes lined with black Bortasian foxes' fur it is excusable (although it is against the divine laws)." [1] 439

It would be interesting to follow the influence of the fur trade on the development of industrial civilization. In northern Asia and in North America the little furry beasts have led men on to Empire; and beyond the trappers' gins and the road to world power lies perhaps "part of the vanity" of kings, but more potently the vanity of women in their furs, for in that most primitive manner of clothing, those primitives are themselves most beautiful.

Such barbarous products—furs and wax and honey—were the stable traffic of the northern tribes, and in these prime products the peoples of the Caucasus had their share; [2] but they traded also other articles, at once, of greater value, rarer and more varied.

The peoples of the Caucasus have been noted since Classical times for their skill in the manufacture of textiles. Under the Caliphate, Caucasian textiles had a great reputation. Of all, Circassian stuffs were most sought after, and el-Masudi in his description of the Kashak praises both their persons and their fabrics. 288

"They are, among all the nations whom we have mentioned, the cleanest and the most handsome in their appearance, both men and women. They have good persons, are slender round the waist, have well-shaped hips, and are of a comely form. They dress in white, in Greek brocade, in cloth of scarlet colour and other sorts of cloth or gilt brocade. In their country various sorts of cloth are manufactured of hemp and other materials; one sort is called et-Talli cloth; it is finer than damask (silk) and stouter than (our) hemp cloth. One piece of this sort of cloth costs about ten *dinars* and is exported to the neighbouring Muslim countries. The same cloth is exported from other nations who live near the Kashak; but the best comes from them." [3]

Derbend was the distributing centre for the Caucasian textile industry. "*From it*", says ibn-Haukal, "*they send linen clothes to all parts of Aran and Azerbaijan. Here they also weave tapestry and carpets.*" [4]

[1] el-Masudi, I, 412. [2] Cf. Procopius, II, xxviii, 29; el-Idrisi, II, 375.
[3] el-Masudi, I, 437. (For Classical references to the celebrated linen of Colchis, see Strabo, Book XI, Cap. II, 17; cf. also Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, II, 148, and note 1).
[4] ibn-Haukal, p. 159.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

223
136 "In this sea", he says, "are islands opposite the coast of Jorjan, where a sort of white falcons are caught. These falcons are soon made tame; and one has little to fear that they will associate (with the wild birds); but they are rather weak, for the sportsmen who catch them in these islands feed them with fish; and if any other food is given to them, they become reduced in strength. Men who distinguish themselves by their knowledge of falconry, and of the different sorts of rapacious birds which have been employed for the same purpose, among the Persians, Turks, Byzantines, Hindus and Arabs, say that falcons of a white colour are quickest and handsomest; that they have the best shape and chest; and that they are soonest tamed, and the strongest of all falcons to rise in the air; that they have the longest breath, and fly furthest, for they are very light and spirited, and they have a hotter temper than any other species of falcons. The difference of colour depends upon the difference of climate. Hence they are of pure white in Armenia, in the country of the Khazar, in Jorjan, and the neighbouring countries of the Turks, on account of the great fall of snow in these climates." [1]

439 The Arab writers pay little attention to the western parts of the Caucasus, since the Euxine trade had little concern for them. They note only the names of the declining ports along the coast from Trebizond to the entry of the Sea of Azov. Phasis and Dioscurias had certainly lost much of their importance. Imier—"that side"—beyond the Mountains of Likhi and the marches of the Muslim—had been desolated in the long wars between the fifth and the eighth centuries; and the life of Georgia was growing young again, in the rock-bound fastnesses of Samtzkhé. Yet an extensive find—at the small roadstead of Arkhavé in Lazistan—of gold and silver coins minted in the cities of Islam—tells of the constant come and go of trade between the provinces of the Caliph and the independent parts of Georgia, during the generations when strife was continuing in perpetual iteration.

The coins found at Arkhavé all date to the beginning of the ninth century, and are *dirhems* minted at Baghdad, Muhammadiah, in Armenia, at Kufa, at Basra, in Aran, at Balkh, in Africa, at Harunabad, Ray and Kirman.[2] This was the circulation of trade under the great Caliphs—from Africa and Balkh to Lazica. Sargis Tmogveli, three centuries later, recalls the fame of it when he exclaims:

"Thou art master of Eran and T'uran; from China to Qirovan, all is thine and under thy command." [3]

---

[1] el-Masudi, I, 423.

[2] Pakhomov, p. 53; cf. ibn-Haukal, p. 163: "In Azerbaijan and Aran and Armenia, gold and silver coins are current."

[3] *Visramiani*, p. 160, Qirovan is Kerouan in Tunisia.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

lishing a definite Catholic influence in Georgia, although they were not prepared to give the material assistance in money which the Georgian kings were seeking. Finally, during the reign of Giorgi V, a monk named John of Florence was sent to Georgia by Pope John XXII and became first Roman Catholic Bishop of Tiflis.[1]

Such European products as entered Georgia came in through Byzantium and they are referred to as Greek,[2] for it was not until the period of Mongol hegemony and the political decline of Byzantium, that the Genoese obtained the monopoly of the Black Sea traffic. Trade between Georgia and the west through Byzantium during the eleventh and twelfth centuries must have been considerable, and there was always a numerous Georgian element living in Constantinople.

But trade with the south and east was always more important. In this trade, the Armenians, Jews and Arabs were the principal middlemen. Through Lajazzo and the other Cilician ports, Armenian and Latin merchants brought the products of the Mediterranean and of Africa into the Turkish emirates of Anatolia and up to the Black Sea coast, and through Tabriz came the goods from India and the East. Greek and Chinese and Baghdad brocades and woven stuffs,[3] wool from Alexandria,[4] Tibetan musk,[5] Indian steel [6] and diamonds,[7] and Greek locks [8] were all greatly prized. And Sargis Tmogveli, describing a royal letter, says, "instead of paper was used Chinese vellum, for ink T'humbat'hian (Tibetan) musk, an Egyptian reed, rose-water from Nisibrand, ink-horns of Saman aloe".[9]

During the heyday of the Bagratid monarchy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the wealth and luxury of the Court and aristocracy equalled that of the contemporary kingdoms in Spain and Italy. Gorged with the loot of victorious forays,[10] and masters of a fertile land spread with industrious and thriving towns, the Georgian aristocracy spent their leisure from the wars in hunting, feasting and tournaments. And splendid are the accounts which the Annalists give of great celebrations and tourneys at Tiflis in honour of royal marriages or of visits of foreign princes.[11]

[1] For an account of the relations of the Papacy with the Georgian kings see Michel Tamarati, *L'Eglise Géorgienne*, pp. 403 *et seq.*

[2] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 463. [3] *Vitruviniani*, pp. 194, 283, 249, etc.
[4] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 449. [5] *Vitruviniani*, p. 225, etc. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[7] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 463. [8] *Vitruviniani*, p. 217. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[10] Cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 366, for a description of loot gained after a victory over the Persians.

[11] See *Ibid.*, pp. 418–19, 422, 438, etc.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

Empire at Constantinople, and had begun through the Polos to explore the markets of Further Asia, it was to their rivals that the prizes went, when in 1261 the ships, the money and the diplomacy of Genoa furthered Michael Palaiologos to the restoration of the Greek Empire. The clauses of the Treaty of Nymphæum gave to the Genoese the virtual monopoly of foreign trade with the territories of the attenuated Byzantine Empire, but, more important, it gave them control of the Black Sea trade, and the members of their numerous and powerful colony at Pera entered upon a period of great and profitable activity. At Trebizond and Kerasund, at Caffa and Tana and in the Rumanian principalities, they had their depôts and their consuls, and the *Officium Gazariæ* at Genoa was set up to administer a commercial machine which seemed to have many of the potentialities of a political Empire.[1] Far in the wake of the Genoese followed the Venetians, the Pisans and the Florentines, the Catalans and the Provençals. And for the two hundred and fifty years which elapsed between the passing of Byzantium as an Imperial control over the narrow straits, and the setting of the Osmanli at that old seat of power, the Black Sea became an extension merely of the Mediterranean, where the mercantile city-states contended, as in the Mediterranean, for mastery and profit.

The Latin cities, as the Romans in earlier times, were attracted by the trade of the wide Russian steppes and of the caravan routes which debouched at Caffa, Tana and Trebizond, rather than by the local produce of the Caucasian lands. Nevertheless, that the Latins had an intimate knowledge of all the coast of Georgia and Circassis is clear from the Catalan Map and from the Manual of Pegolotti;[2] they drove a thriving trade in boxwood, wine and nuts and in the wool and silk of the interior and the coloured linens of Riza.[3] At the same time, as in the Kingdom of Little Armenia, the Popes proved as anxious to pursue the political and religious implications of the decline of Byzantine power as their shrewd countrymen were to profit from the commercial situation which had been created. During the whole of the thirteenth century, the Popes solicited the unfortunate Kings of Georgia—harried always by the Mongols—with promises of aid, sympathetic compliments and hints at the desirability of the union

[1] For the history of the Genoese in the Black Sea, see G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le Commerce Génois dans la Mer Noire* (Paris, 1929), and W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant* (2 vols., Réimpression, Leipzig, 1923). Gazaria (Khazaria) was the mediæval Latin name for the Crimea.

[2] Heyd, II, 190; cf. also Marco Polo.

[3] *Idem*, p. 110.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

439 of the Georgian Church with Rome. By the end of the
648 thirteenth century Latin influence in Georgia was strong, and growing. As early as the time of Marco Polo, Genoese merchants were navigating and trading across the Caspian,[1] and in the first decade of the fourteenth century the Italian monks William of Chiero and Matthew of Chieti were working in Tiflis.

648 The Bank of St. George and the Vatican, not always in
793 unison, supplemented each the other's efforts in the further-
177 ance of Latin influence. In 1316, the *Officium Gazariæ* was organizing the administration of Caffa; and two years later the city became the See of a Roman Catholic Archbishop, whose diocese comprised the whole area from Varna to Saray on the Volga, and from the Black Sea to the Russian dukedoms.[2] In 1314, the Genoese obtained their first treaty from Alexios II of Trebizond; in 1321, John XXII addressed a letter to King Giorgi Brtsqinwalé urging the union of the Georgian Church with Rome, and seven years later John of Florence arrived in Tiflis as first Roman Catholic Bishop, and busied himself in translating Latin ecclesiastical texts into Georgian.[3]

During the period between the establishment of Mongol power and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the contact between Georgia and the states of Western Christendom must have been continuous. As early as 1330, there was an English Roman Catholic bishop, Peter Gerald, at Sukhum, whom we find lamenting that his flock were being sold as slaves to the Saracens without his being able to check the traffic;[4] and Germans, Italians and Frenchmen succeeded each other in the See of Tiflis. In 1441, a Georgian bishop was in attendance at the Ecumenical Council of Florence; and in 1461, Georgian and Trapezuntine ambassadors, escorted by Ludovico of Bologna, the Papal Legate in the East, were present at the coronation of Louis XI.[5] In 1496, the Borgia Pope Alexander VI was writing to thank Constantine III of Kartli for his congratulations on the capture of Granada from "the Agarians";[6] and there is a letter extant which shows that Constantine sent an ambassador by way of Poland and Lithuania with a gift for Isabella of Castile, of nineteen

[1] Polo, Yule's ed., I, 52.
[2] W. Bartold, Article "*Kafa*" in *Encyclopædia of Islam*.
[3] Tamarati, *Histoire de l'Eglise Géorgienne*, pp. 403 *et seq.*
[4] Heyd, II. 192, quoting Raynaldi, *Ann. eccls. ad. an.* 1330, No. 57.
[5] Tamarati, *ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

241 There were vineyards in abundance and apricots, quinces, cherries, nuts of all kinds, mulberries, apples, pears, plums, raspberries, currants of all kinds, melons, water-melons, cucumbers both Russian and Crimean, pumpkins both Russian and Persian, onions and most other green vegetables.

● 439 Kutais was visited by traders from many countries, from Turkey and Persia, from Azov, from Gurelei (Guria) and from Didian (Mingrelia). The merchants were mostly Armenians, men of Azov, Persians, Turks and Jews, and a great variety of goods was to be found in the markets, including Persian

"And amid his Noble Horsemen I was taken to see the City of Cotatis and the Castle" (Castelli).

velours and all kinds of silk pieces. Trading was mostly done in the local currency.[1]

[327] There are iron deposits in Imereti and Abkhazeti and the production reported by Tolochanov appears to have assumed some importance in the following century, for the traveller Tavernier states that "*the greater part of the iron consumed in Turkey comes from Mingrelia*". The export of nuts from the Georgian lands had always been a staple of foreign trade, and the English traveller, Duckett, speaking of the eastern districts, avers that there "*is carried yearly into Persia an incredible quantity of hazel-nuts, all of one sort and good-*

[1] Polievktov, *Tolochanov's Mission*, p. 188.

DOG-DAYS OF THE GEORGIANS

nesse and as good and thin-shaled as are our filberts. Of these are carried yearly the quantity of 4,000 *camells laden*".[1]

Tolochanov has some interesting details on the habits and ways of life of the Imerians. They dressed generally in the Turkish or Persian fashion, although they wore their own local costumes which consisted of a sort of long *caftans* with short sleeves. The high-heeled shoes noted by the Venetians were still in use, although Turkish slippers were much worn and the poorer classes favoured sandals. They wore blouses and shirts of all colours except white, and made generally of silk. All classes carried swords and sabres mostly of Persian or German make which they wore even in church. They wore leather belts ornamented with gold and silver, and all carried *kinjals* (the long thin straight Caucasian daggers). For fighting the bow was still in use, but muskets and pistols were common. The most prized horses were the Argamak stallions of Kabardán breed.[2]

The Georgian dynasts even in the dog-days of the Mussulman hegemony maintained a degree of wealth and enjoyed a state of luxury which was in strange contrast to the poverty and misery in which their subjects wallowed all around them. This contrast always has been, and still is, characteristic of Eastern cultures, and for that matter the phenomenon is by no means confined either to the east or to the centuries preceding the Industrial Revolution.

It would be interesting to devote a separate work to the consideration of how the failure to use specie for its proper function of facilitating the circulation of the products of the world has—as a result of the interplay of the instincts for accumulation and ostentation—checked the full use of the natural wealth of the earth by the people living on it. Tolochanov, during his audience of King Taymurazi in his manor in Radsha, and of King Alexander in the palace at Kutais, must have seen before his eyes a very large part of the movable and unusable wealth of Georgia of the seventeenth century. King Taymurazi, although his fortunes had sunk considerably lower than they were when Mishetski visited him ten years before, was living in no little luxury, surrounded by a numerous retinue and making a display of wealth which excited the admiration of an ambassador accustomed to the splendours of the Muscovite court. Taymurazi was a vigorous patriot and one of the most enlightened men of his day. His country was in enemy occupation, desolate and despoiled. And we

[1] *Hakluyt's Voyages*, p. 447. [2] Polievktov, *Tolochanov*, pp. 110 *et seq.*

[2 [Cf. Kipher Tolochanov--See Ch. 7, pp. 344-345--Analyst]]

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

175X "there are forty caravanserai, in each of which many thousand tomans of wares are deposited . . . the coffee-houses are meeting-places for wits and learned men; the air is mild and the land fertile; rice, cotton, seven sorts of grapes, pears and water-melons are in great perfection. . . .[1] Shamakha is much frequented by Chinese, Tartars, Kalmucks and Russians, who bring different wares in exchange for which they take salt, naptha, safian and silk".[2]

The exploitation of the naptha deposits at Baku were carried out under a royal lease and the oil was sent all over Persia.[3] [288] Ganja was famous for its gardens and its silk "*and the horse-shoes of Genje are not less famous than its silk*".[4]

• 439 The Persian provinces of the eastern Caucasus were essentially part of an economic system which centred round the Caspian basin. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the military control of the Caspian, to the extent that any was exercised, was in the hands of the Persians and there was a complete freedom of trade,[5] in contrast to the strict monopoly which was exercised by the Turks in the Black Sea; and this freedom no doubt goes to explain the relative prosperity of the Caspian littoral countries by contrast with the lands draining to the Black Sea.[6]

During the period of Persian hegemony, between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, Kartli and Kakheti were drawn into the economic orientation towards the Caspian, and after the closing of the Black Sea to the Latins, the old economic unity of the Georgian Kingdom, with its attraction to the Black Sea littoral, very largely disappeared. Particularly during the period of the Mukhranian vice-royalty, Tiflis became almost a Persian town, like Shamakha and Erivan and the two provinces dependent on it shared in the relative prosperity of the Caspian countries under Safavid rule. Writers like Evliya regarded Tiflis really as a Persian town; the abundance and cheapness of its good things and the health-giving properties of its famous baths became a

[1] Evliya, II, 160. [2] *Idem.*, II, 163.
[3] *Idem.*, II, 163. [4] *Idem.*, II, 154.
[5] *Idem.*, II, 164, "thousands of boats and vessels carry on trade, but they are all afraid of Russian Chaiks, with whom they fight. The vessels are not large ships like those of the White (Mediterranean), Black and Red Seas, but small boats of reeds, with small guns; There are no men-of-war or great Carvelles like those of the White Sea, which are necessary to meet the vessels of the Franks in the Archipelago . . . such great means of defence are not required on the Caspian, as there are only Cossack boats to be met with."
[6] The Russians in the middle of the eighteenth century began to develop a monopolistic policy with serious damage to British trade with Persia which was growing up via the Black Sea Ports and Astrakhan. The Russians subsequently pursued their monopolistic theories in the Caucasus, and so considerably retarded economic development in those lands during the nineteenth century.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

439 by-word throughout Iran and Iraq; it had become, moreover, a place of Muslim pilgrimage.[1]

We have already referred to the export trade in iron and in nuts which formed two of the staple items of Georgian production. The export of wines to Persia and the Armenian towns was also very great, and the vintages of Kakheti were greatly appreciated by the easy-going Shi'ahs of Isfahan.[2] Evliya, who visited Tiflis not long after the destruction of the Kakhetian mulberry-orchards by Shah Abbas, states that there was no silk produced in Georgia. Chardin, however, says that great quantities of raw silk were exported to Erzerum for the Turkish market,[3] and it may be assumed that the production was thus diverted because the Georgians could not compete in the more accessible Persian market against the celebrated centres of silk production in Shirvan and Aran. Considerable quantities of linen clothes were also exported annually to Turkey, and 60,000 ells of linen represented the tribute paid over by the Dadiani of Mingrelia to the Pasha of Akhaltzikhé.[4] Georgian falcons and other birds of prey, celebrated in the East throughout the centuries, were exported into Persia.[5] Georgian horses were also in much demand.

567 The slave trade was, as we have elsewhere considered, the principal object of commerce into Georgia and the mountain districts during these times, and a great part of the maritime traffic on the Black Sea relied primarily on this trade—their outward cargoes being products to trade against flesh and their homeward cargoes slaves. Chardin says that he had heard several old Turkish captains affirm that there were all together about fifteen hundred vessels trading in the Black Sea in that time, of which about a hundred were lost by shipwreck every year.[6]

439 In Chardin's ship there were about two hundred people; the Commandant of Azac (Azov) and a suite of 20, 100 Janissaries, 50 passengers and a crew of 30. Chardin's ship arrived at Caffa, having made the journey from Stambul in eight days. From Caffa the ship proceeded to trade down the coast along towards Georgia.

"Our Ships Lading consisted in Salt Fish, Caveare, Oyl, Biscuit, Wooll, Iron, Tin, Copper, Copper and Earthen Ware, in all sorts of Harness, Arms, Utensils of Husbandry, Cloth, Linnen of all Colours, Habits for Men and Women, Coverlets, Carpets, Leather, Boots and

[1] Evliya, I, 172. [2] Chardin, p. 189. [3] *Idem.*, p. 190. [4] *Idem.*, p. 107. [5] *Idem.*, p. 92.

[6] *Idem.*, p. 66; Evliya, II, 67–70, gives a dramatic account of a shipwreck in the Black Sea, when nearly all the ship's company, 300 souls, were lost.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

Shooes and in a word in all things most necessary for Man's use. There were all sorts of Grocery and Pothecary's Ware, Spices, Perfumes, Drugs and all manner of Oyntments. So that the vessel seemed to be a little Town, where everything was to be had." [1]

Almost all the foreign trade was transacted by barter, and both Chardin and Pitton de Tournefort found that the people preferred to be paid for goods in stuffs and trinkets rather than in currency.

The long period of perpetual contact, both commercial and political, with their powerful Mussulman neighbours had a profound effect on the peoples of the Caucasus. The more highly civilized Georgians and Armenians, strong in the antique traditions of East Christian culture, were outwardly affected in modes and habits and some ways of thought; the peoples of the mountains, who had not by the fifteenth century emerged from the tribal state, forgot their thin Christianity and became Muslim in culture as well as in outward fashion. Not only did Islam penetrate the remoter valleys of Circassia, but it became the religion of the relatively civilized Meskhians and Abkhaz.[2]

The easy religious casuistry of the Georgian princes was natural to them as well as convenient to their political interests. In the seventeenth century the old mediæval culture of Christendom, which had flourished in the Kingdom of Georgia, was half-forgotten, and it was only the more sensitive spirits who were prepared still to make sacrifices in the memory of its tradition. The new architecture of Tiflis, in the Mukhranian days, was altogether in the Muslim style; dress, manners, furnishing, were Persian. The position of women was also affected and Chardin noted a tendency, since the Persian rule began in Tiflis, towards the seclusion of women. They went veiled in the streets, while in the country districts, where there were no Mussulmans, they still adhered to the Christian custom.[3]

The travellers of the seventeenth century are none too generous in their appraisal of the Georgian character. Chardin has a long diatribe on the Georgians, and he condemns their immorality, their drunkenness, their knavery and their arrogance. But even he admits, by contrary, that "*they are Civil and Courteous and more than that, they are Grave and Moderate*".[4]

[1] Chardin, p. 75.
[2] For the progress of Islam in Samtzkhé during the seventeenth century, see Wakhushti, *Histoire de Samtzkhé*, in Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 232–3.
[3] Chardin, p. 226.
[4] *Idem.*, p. 191.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Georgia R12

800 industrial enterprises in the country, most of which had a local importance only. Great attention was paid to the cultivation of tea and citrus fruits. The tea plantations, almost non-existent before the First World War, covered 128,440 acres in 1947. Tea production increased from 264,556 pounds in 1913 to 118,814,635 pounds in 1940, and the entire Soviet Union is now drinking 'Georgian tea'. Georgia has become completely dependent on the Russian market for this new produce of her soil; an independent Georgian State would hardly be able to find alternative buyers for the quantity of tea which is being grown on Georgian territory on the basis of all-Union economic planning.

The same would most probably apply to Georgia's citrus fruits, for which Georgia has also a monopoly in the U.S.S.R. The Georgian citrus fruit plantations grew from 295 acres in 1913 to 24,700 acres in 1938, but an ambitious plan fixing the area of these plantations at 98,000 acres in 1944 has remained largely on paper. Such a sensational increase had been decreed by the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on April 25th, 1940, but even without the interruption of the war the fulfilment of these targets might have proved unattainable. After the war, the question of the Georgian citrus fruit plantations was reconsidered by the central Government. A new decree was enacted on February 15th, 1946, which fixed the revised target for 1950 at 72,600 acres only.

It was the Georgian Government which was entrusted with the unpopular task of prohibiting the Georgian collective farmers from planting the areas reserved for the new citrus plantations with anything but lemons, oranges and tangerines. The overall responsibility for the implementation of the decree on the development of Georgian citrus plantations was, however, divided between the all-Union Ministry for Technical Cultures and the Georgian Government.

The extension of tea and citrus fruit plantations in Georgia prevented any increase in the local wheat and maize production which would have corresponded to the 32 per cent augmentation of Georgia's population between 1926 and 1939. Even before the First World War Georgia was forced to import cereals in years of an average harvest. The agricultural policy which the Soviet régime had pursued in Georgia made things much worse. In 1950 Georgia had to import 75 per cent of its bread supply from other Soviet Republics. This state of affairs was bound to cause considerable dissatisfaction in the country and the Communist Party found itself compelled to change its agrarian policy. It introduced a special seven-year plan for Georgian agriculture with the aim of making the republic self-sufficient in cereals by 1957.

The economic assignments given to Georgia were not of such magnitude as to require any substantial manpower imports. On the contrary, the Georgians belong to those few peoples in the Soviet Union who should be able to cope with the tasks allotted to them by economic